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The Naval Question

Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on Thursday. Dec. 12, 1912

by

HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM, M.P.

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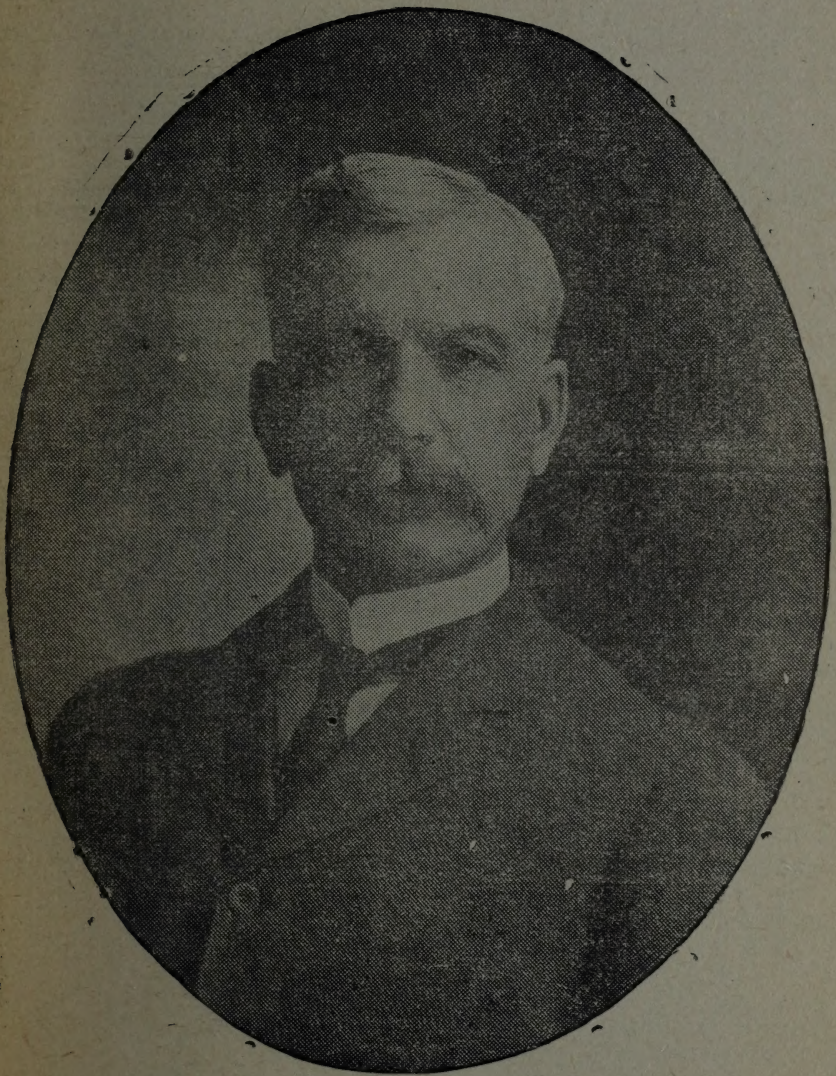

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Hon. GEORGE P. GRAHAM (South Renfrew): In rising to contribute a few remarks on the question now before the House, I cannot but be impressed with the grandeur and magnificence embodied in the words 'British citizenship.' When there is added to that the robust Canadianism exemplified in the people of the northern half of this continent, we are still prouder. In the discussion of this great question we ought to keep in view two things: first our duty as British subjects, and second our rights and privileges as Canadians. I am proud to be a British subject, and I am prouder to belong to this particular part of the British Empire than if I were born in London, for, after all:

> He is the best cosmopolite
> Who loves his native land the best.

I have no apologies to make either on this side of the ocean or the other, for speaking in this debate from the standpoint of a Canadian, and none the less of a British subject because I am a Canadian.

I was delighted, in a way, to hear the eloquent peroration of the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. It was largely an eloquent apology for abandoning a policy that would have given Canada a great shipbuilding industry. I was surprised—and the great nations of the earth will also be surprised—that the head of the Naval Department of this Dominion painted such a pitiful picture of the condition of the forces of the British Empire, and the possibility of England being defeated on the sea and what would happen if she were defeated. Sir, there is not a word in the memorandum of the British Admiralty—not a word anywhere in the history of the world within the last fifty years—which points to the fact that there is any danger of the British Empire being defeated

on the seas. If my hon. friend entertains that fear, I do not, and the Admiralty says there is no danger of such a condition, because they are prepared to take care of the British Empire the world over.

I consider that the policy of my hon. friend is one not only of inactivity, but one of inability as well. It is one of inactivity in that it refrains from developing what would be a permanent policy. My hon. friend quoted figures to prove that there did exist some particular emergency. What do his figures prove ? They prove that there is a permanent emergency; a permanent condition that cannot be met by what he himself would not dignify by the name of policy, but terms an expediency —a contribution. It is one of inability, for that he followed his leader in pointing out the inability of Canada to build ships; the inability of Canada to supply men for them, and, the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite is the practical exemplification of that belief, for they do not propose to either build ships in Canada or man or maintain the ships they are going to give to the British Empire.

My hon. friend talked very eloquently, and rightly so, of the place that Canadians should have in the firing line—of the place before the enemy, facing the foe, that the Canadian ships with those three distinguished names should have, but he does not supply a man to put in the firing line. It is a reversal of the old rhyme that we used to hear :

> We don't want to fight,
> But by jingo if we do,
> We've got the ships,
> We've got the men,
> We've got the money, too.

It is a reversal of that. Now it is, if Great Britain wants to fight, we will give her the battleships, but not a man; we shall set afloat three of the most powerful battleships that science can devise or that money can procure, and so far as Canada is concerned, any foreign country can come and lug them away; there is no one to defend them. In the firing line, battleships but not a man when the enemy has to be faced. Sir, I ask the men of Canada, the descendants of the men from whom my hon. friend sprang, what they think of the policy of a government which publishes to the world that we will give to the Empire our money because we have it, but that we will not give what is more precious, and what would show real devotion, our lives in defence of the country. I ask the descendants of old France in this country, that country that gave us such illustrious specimens of fighting valour in the days gone by, what do they think of the policy supported by their own friends in the Government that tells the world and old France, we have got the money, your descendants have made money in Canada, it won't harm us to give the money, but we have lost the fighting spirit you had, we will not let a man go. Mr. Speaker, they misrepresent the men of Canada. I would ask the Englishmen who have come to Canada in recent years, those men who left their sires or their grandsires, or their kinsmen at home, what they think of the policy of the country to which they have come as exemplified by that of the Government, who appealed to them in the last campaign? British born, what do you think of the policy that tells the friends you have left at home, 'here father, here brother, take our money, we are making lots of it, but do the fighting yourselves ?' I ask the descendants of the men of Belfast, of Dublin, of Ulster, of Tipperary, what think they ? What think they of the Government which represents the

men descended from the country that has given to Britain the greatest generals her army perhaps ever had, what do they think of the Government which tells the Irishmen at home that their kinsmen will fight when they are in Ireland but that when they come to Canada they develop cowardice, that they will give their money but never fight? Descendants of the mighty German race what think ye? Sons and grandsons of the grand old U. E. Loyalist stock, who left home and all to remain true to the old flag, what reply will you make to this aspersion on your bravery? If this Bill is to become law, which it should not, I appeal to the Government, and to the men behind them, to strike out the libel on the Canadian people; and, if they are going to give ships paid for by Canadian money, not to send them afloat as hulks, unmanned, but to give Britain what she wants more than our money—the lives, if necessary, of Canadians to defend the Empire when it is in danger, and by all means let us maintain these ships.

My hon. friend (Mr. Hazen) was unfair, I think, concerning the time which elapsed between the advertisement for tenders and the letting of those tenders. He said that several months elapsed. You know, Mr. Speaker, that a half truth does not always convey the whole truth. Let me give the House facts as to those tenders, and let us see if the charge which my hon. friend made is borne out by them: On May 1, 1911, the tenders were received. On May 12, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Militia and the Minister of Marine, the head of the naval affairs of Canada, left for England, to attend the Imperial Conference.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Quite an omission.

Mr. GRAHAM: Not forsaking their duty, but doing just what my hon. friends opposite did this year, although they did not make the same kind of speeches. They left England on the 3rd of July, and arrived in Ottawa on the 12th, and the dissolution took place on the 29th of July. I leave it to the House to pronounce judgment as to whether the hon. minister was fair or not. I want to point out this other side of the question. What a wail and what a protest would have gone up from hon. gentlemen opposite if the Government had dared, after suffering defeat, to let that contract for that great and important work. Hon. friends opposite would have had something to charge the late Government with. As it is, they have nothing to charge them with, and the attempt made this afternoon by my hon. friend shows the weakness of the position he holds, and the delicate place in which he finds himself when trying to defend himself and something that he refused to-night to call a policy.

Now, let me point out something else. I take a somewhat—I was going to say wider view, but I should not use that word. I wish to present this view to the House, and I do so without any hesitation, that the return to a system of contribution by the people of Canada is looking towards a reversal of the constitutional relations existing between the British Empire and her Dominions over the sea, and is a step backwards of seventy years. Allow me to call the attention of the House to a few historical facts. I know my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries will not like this because he objected this afternoon to the historical references of my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. In dealing with the record of this particular case, he dared not go back further than 1910. After that he got into difficulty with his colleagues. For one hundred years prior to Canada becoming a part of the British

Empire she was ruled by France at long range. The attempt was unsuccessful in so far as any great progress was concerned. In 1763, when we became a part of the great British Empire, that form of government still continued—government from across the ocean by men who could not possibly realize our position or understand clearly the aspiration of the Canadian people or the ambitions with which they were imbued. I will not say, Sir, that a good deal of progress was not made under that form of government, but the full fruition of the people's hopes never came until Canada got responsible government. Let me call attention to another fact. During the last half of the century another important event took place on this continent. New England became separated from the mother country largely through a question of taxation, but I want to call the attention of the House to a particular episode which occurred about this time. I can do it coming from the province from which I do. I have heard it intimated—I have even heard it intimated in the corridors of this House—that we could not absolutely depend on our fellow countrymen who descended from old France when a question of British loyalty was at stake. I utterly repudiate that statement and the history of this country proves my repudiation. About the time that the New England states were separating from Great Britain, emissaries came across the line and visited the old historic province of Quebec. Mark you, the French people had just recently been subdued and conquered by the British forces. Even some of the men who protest so loudly their loyalty in these days would have been irritated in that new situation in which they found themselves and if ever a man would be liable to give way to such solicitations as were then held out he would be at that moment. Sir, these emissaries came across the line and endeavoured to seduce the newly conquered race, or their leaders, into joining them in the rebellion.

Mr. EDWARDS: Of what nationality were the emissaries?

Mr. GRAHAM: I imagine that they would give a contribution if they were in this House instead of sending men to fight. What was the answer given by the recently conquered people, by the descendant of old France? They absolutely refused and, Sir, I say it as a Canadian, an English-speaking British subject, it is possible that we owe to these patriotic Frenchmen the fact that Canada to-day is a part of the great British Empire. He who says aught to reflect on the devotion and loyalty of the French people of this country to Great Britain has not read history aright, or else he is prejudiced beyond the point of conviction.

I come down a little further, and I find that in 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada. We still progressed along certain lines, always having the aspiration of being able some day to manage our own affairs with full autonomy granted with the good will and blessing of the motherland. But, that aspiration did not ripen very fast and let me call the attention of the English-speaking members of this House to the fact that in those days Ontario was not the predominating influence and the rich and populous province but in those days the province of Quebec occupied that proud position. We were in a different frame of mind from that which hon. gentlemen sometimes now exhibit when they are discussing public questions where an apparent conflict between the two races might appear.

Let us come down a little further to 1812, when we had a difference

again, this time with the United States. What happened? Did the Canadian men stand back and say: We will send our guns, but we will not go ourselves? They were ready at the call of the Empire under the old flag. Now, I come to 1837, a time fraught with significance. I am not going to discuss the actions of those who took part in the revolt of 1837 either in Ontario or Quebec, but let me point out to you, and particularly to you younger men, that in a country's history it very often happens that the rebels of yesterday are the heroes of to-day. In 1837 what was the agitation for?—for the right of the Canadian people to spend their own money and to manage their own affairs. That was finally brought about a few years later. Then, in 1841, we again had Upper and Lower Canada united and this country owes to Baldwin and Lafontaine a debt of gratitude that future generations will never dream the significance of. Lord Elgin said, in discussing this matter, that Baldwin himself was worth three regiments of the British army because he had given to the people a privilege for which they had sighed, a privilege which they have long continued to enjoy and under which they have prospered. What has all this to do with this question?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. GRAHAM: Men who have not read history aright cannot tell. Men who have not read it at all dare not try to tell. It means that there was, after years of struggle, a victory achieved by the Canadian people. They were to be allowed, I repeat it, to govern themselves as they saw fit, and not only to contribute their own money but to expend it through the votes of their representatives and not to have it expended through Downing street. I say, and I say it with all confidence, that the introduction of a contribution, disguise it as you will, is a proposal which cannot commend itself to those who look at this question in the light of history. Instead of giving our men, instead of providing what Britain wants with our own money, these hon. gentlemen say: No, we will give you money instead with which to purchase ships. That is not the policy of responsible government, but it is directly opposed to that great principle.

I want to come down now to a later day. In 1867 we had brought about in Canada perhaps one of the most notable epochs in the history of the nations of the world and the men who worked out that problem performed a service for the British Empire far greater than that which can be rendered by the presentation of Dreadnaughts; performer a service for the peace of the world, to use the expression of my hon. friend, and performed a service for civilization unexcelled in the history of nations. It was not an easy task, as those who have since attempted the Government of Canada have found out. But, mark you, that never could have been brought about but for the underlying principle of responsible government, and it might not be maintained, if for one moment we should depart from that great underlying principle. Let me point out that this great question of self government was settled years ago and up to the present moment has never been seriously interfered with in our time.

What happens with regard to the land force defences of Canada? Hon. gentlemen say we must have the protection of the British Empire, and so say we all, and we ever will have that protection; we must do our share, and no man shrinks from doing his share. But there is a right

way and a wrong way of doing that share. What happened with regard to our land forces? For a great many years the soldiers of the motherland defended and occupied our country; British troops were here until 1870 and in 1861 there were 18,000 of them on the soil of Canada. When they departed after having been here many years, and when Canada herself undertook the task of managing her own land forces, did anything serious happen? Sir, when we assumed our own defence on land it was a step in the right direction, the young son having grown into manhood, and needing no further to hang on to the apron strings of his mother, stood for himself to defend his country. What was done with the land force ought to be done with the naval force. Let me read what Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary, wrote to the Governor General of Canada in 1871 :

> Canada in common with the other British provinces in North America now possesses in the most ample and complete manner in which it is possible that she should enjoy it, the advantage of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibility and that the time has now come when the people of Canada must be called upon to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto borne of the expenses which have incurred on their account and for their advantage. Of these expenses, by far the heaviest charge which falls upon this country is that incurred for the military protection of the provinces. Looking to the rapid progress which Canada is now making in wealth and population and to the prosperity which she at this moment enjoys, it is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government that it is only due to the people of this country that they should now be relieved from a large proportion of this charge which has hitherto been imposed upon them for the protection of a colony now well able to do much towards protecting itself..

The words of Lord Grey in 1871, as applied to the land forces, might well be applied now in regard to the naval defences of Canada, and we might very well, along the lines suggested there, proceed to relieve Great Britain from the protection of our shores by undertaking that protection ourselves. I again call attention to the basis for this doctrine laid down by the Colonial Secretary of that date.

> "Canada in common with the other British provinces of North America, now possesses in the most ample and complete manner in which it is possible she would enjoy it the advantage of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs."

Self government, Lord Grey said, had been given to Canada, and now let her take care of her own land forces. Sir, that principle of responsible government lies deeply embedded in the history of Canada, and it would be a sad mistake to do anything which may appear to interfere with it now, or at any time in our history. I point out that in dealing with the militia of Canada this great principle was not only kept in view but the fact was emphasized on every possible occasion. In 1861 and 1862 the Committee on Expenses of the militia brought in a report

and, referring to the presence of British troops in Canada, that report said :

> "The system prevents the development of a proper spirit of self-reliance among the colonists, and enfeebles their national character. By the gift of political government . . . .
> Mark you, based on responsible Government again.
> By the gift of political government we have bestowed on our colonists the most important element of national education, but the habit of self-defence constitutes a part, hardly less important to the training of a free people, and it will never be acquired by our colonists if we assume the task of defending them.

I submit the words of this committee to my hon. friends opposite. British Imperialists of the highest order, those who have watched our growth in the years as we have come to nationhood, have always taken the ground since we obtained self government that as rapidly as possible, in pursuance of the granting of responsible government we should assume certain responsibilities, and these responsibilities were not to depart from the principle of self-government by making contributions and again bringing Great Britain back to our assistance in times of peace particularly, but that we should learn to help ourselves and develop the national spirit. The fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt were referred to by the Minister of Marine to-night, and I regret that he neglected to point out that the late Liberal Government had looked after that very important matter. The Imperial troops having left the Dominion in order that we might take charge of the defence of our coutry by our own militia, and thus develop our self-relinace under political responsible government, there came a time when a further step was to be taken, and Great Britain desired, and the late Government of Canada agreed to it, that she should be relieved of the expense of the fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt. Has Canada suffered by the change under which the British troops left Canada and our militia took charge of our defence? I leave it to the Minister of Militia to say whether Canada has suffered or not by that change; Canada surely cannot suffer now any way with the present Minister of Militia in charge. The fact is that we have to-day in Canada a splendid body of volunteers, not afraid to fight if necessary for the defence of their country, and that, had the British troops remained in the Dominion of Canada, we would not have a Canadian militia such as we are proud of. But as soon as they were withdrawn, and even before that, the spirit was in the air, the young men of Canada, who are never afraid to fight when occasion arises, joined the Militia of Canada, and to-day the Minister of Militia believes he is at the head of one of the finest bodies of men and one of the finest organizations anywhere in the over-seas dominions of the British Empire.

Mr. HUGHES (Minister of Militia): Does not the hon. member believe it also ?

Mr. GRAHAM : I think it is much better than it would have been under the old conditions. I wish the House to bear in mind that, as our responsibilities have increased, our devotion to the Empire has become intensified, and every new task we have assumed has not made us a separate entity, as some hon. gentlemen would argue, but has drawn us closer to the motherland, and has strengthened the tie that binds us and

always will bind us to the great British Empire. It is human nature properly developed that the more responsibility you place on a thoughtful strong person, the more he grows and develops. So it is with the young nation, the Dominion of Canada; and at this moment, instead of adding to the responsibility, instead of allowing young Canada to assume her proper place as a young nation side by side with the mother country, we have before the House what could not be dignified by the name of a policy, saying: Stand back, do not go too rapidly, young Canada; you cannot build ships; you cannot man ships; you must not even pay for manning ships; but let us take your money and send it to the old land for the construction of warships.

There have been other developments all based on the great principle of responsible government, that is, of allowing Canada to manage her own affairs. Conditions years ago concerning treaties were not the same as they are to-day. Sixty years ago, Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster sat down and framed a treaty providing for the division of certain territory in which Canada was vitally affected. No Canadian representative was there. Had there been one there, perhaps the award would have been different. When the Washington Treaty was framed, Sir John A. Macdonald was one of several representatives. This was a little advance. Later, when the Alaskan boundary came to be determined, out of three British arbitrators, two were Canadians. Following down this line we find now, as is exemplified in the treaty with France and other treaties that when a treaty is to be made in which Canada is concerned, the Canadian representatives practically make the treaty with the foreign country. Canada at the present time has developed along that line of responsible government and home management to the extent that Great Britain can make treaties in which Canada may not necessarily join, if she does not so desire, and treaties can be made which will give certain benefits to Canada, which do not apply to other parts of the Empire. So great has been our development along this line that Canada is practically a nation within herself.

The people of Canada should not forget that Great Britain has allowed us the utmost freedom, and, as that freedom has been allowed so has our devotion and loyalty increased; but hon. gentlemen opposite, and particularly the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who is an old parliamentarian, will remember that Canada was allowed further privileges. I think away back in 1859 Mr. A. T. Galt imposed a tariff which applied against the motherland, and when the National Policy was introduced in 1879, what was the position taken? Some persons raised the question that the tariff should not apply, in its entirety at least, against the British Empire, and a paper strongly supporting hon. gentlemen now in the Government said, 'So much the worse for British connection.' They were strong then on Canadian autonomy. Why? Because of certain interests, but they have thrown it to the four winds now in a vain endeavor to please at one stroke the Nationalists and the Jingoes.

I come now to the time when Canada was allowed to begin to repay some of these great kindnesses, and that was when the late Minister of Finance, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, introduced the British preference into this parliament. Hon. gentlemen now take the view, as was expressed by the right hon. the Prime Minister, that a permanent policy cannot be evolved until the question of representation in Imperial councils is settled. They took the same ground when the British preference was intro-

duced, that Canada should not give this preference till she dickered and made a bargain to get something in return. The same principle. But, as in the British preference, while the right hon. the leader of the Opposition does not at all minimize the great importance, the vast importance of the discussion and consideration of that great question of representation, he says that the discussion and consideration of that question should not be held as a barred door against doing something in the way of a permanent policy for the naval defences of the Empire. He does not ask for a quid pro quo. He says that we are prepared in the face of a permanent condition to give a permanent policy, and that while in years to come this other great question may have to be solved, the construction of Canadian ships to be at the side of the mother land in the time of stress must not be delayed, awaiting the settlement of that question, which may mean the indefinite postponement of the adoption of a permanent policy of naval defence. Let me read just two or three quotations from certain gentlemen on this question of managing our own affairs. The editor of the Round Table, referring to the resolutions passed at the Imperial Conference in 1907, said :

> This resolution established the status of the Dominions as naval entities, and entirely distinct from that which inhabited the British Isles. It recognized that the basis of Imperial organization was the co-operation of five nations, not the centralization of power in the hands of the British Government as an Imperial Parliament. It finally destroyed the older conception of Imperial development as a gradual reunion of the colonies with the mother country through representatives in either of the British Houses of Parliament.

Hon. gentlemen will bear in mind that notwithstanding arguments that may be brought forward to divert their attention it is not the British Parliament that is the bond of union, it is the British Crown that is the bond of union. The British Parliament in itself is a body such as we are, responsible to the people who elect it, and it has in its sphere no greater powers than has this Canadian parliament in its sphere. Let me read what Mr. Balfour said in 1911 at the Constitutional Club :

> I cannot help thinking that as we have now thoroughly realized in every one of these great communities that each is to manage its own affairs, carry out its own life, make its own experiments as if it were an independent political entity, as that is a truth understood by every politician of every party of every one of these several communities. I cannot help thinking that upon that solid basis we shall build up something which the world has not yet seen, which political dreamers, in the past, have never yet dreamed of. A coalition of free and self-governing communities, who feel that they are never more themselves, never more masters of their own fate, that when they can recognize that they are parts of a greater whole from which they can draw inspiration and strength, and that each lives its own life and is itself in the fullest sense a self-governing entity, which yet has a larger whole to look to whose interests are not alien to it, on whom it can rest in time of trouble, from whom it can draw experience, to whom it can look, whom it can aid, and from whom it can receive aid.

Always, by all these authorities, so far as I have read them, there is reference back to the giving to Canada and the other dominions overseas of the right sort of self-government. Mr. Asquith, at the opening of the Imperial Conference in 1911, said:

> Two things in the British Empire were unique in the history of great political aggregations; the reign of law, and the combination of local autonmy with the loyalty to a common head. In proportion as centralization was seen to be increasingly absurd, so has disintegration been felt to be increasingly impossible. We, each of us, are and we, each of us, intend to remain master in our own household. This is here at home and throughout the dominions the life-blood of our policy, 'It is the articulus status and cadentis imperii.' It is none the less true that we are and intend to remain units indeed, but units in a greater unity and it is the primary object and governing purpose of these periodical conferences that we take free council together in matters which concern us all.

Again Mr. Asquith bases his remarks largely on the fact that we are self-governing entities and intend to remain such—and with the full consent of the motherland. The London Times, in discussing the resolutions of the Imperial Conference—I think this was the conference of 1909—says:

> Taken as a whole, the memorandum is a well conceived and eminently practical solution of the very difficult problem of bringing three naval forces, possibly more hereafter, which are to be under separate administration into such close and organic relations, that even in time of peace, the advantages of a single Imperial fleet will be, to a very large extent, secured and in time of war, an Imperial fleet, single and indivisible in direction and control, and imbued with the common inspiration and discipline, will automatically come into existence, subject only to the established autonomy and discretion of the several dominions concerned.

The editor of the Times, it will be seen, bases his comment upon the great advancement that had been made in the autonomy of the dominions across the seas and declares that that autonomy is not to be interfered with.

While I am on the question of autonomy, I wish to refer to a point raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Hazen) which seemed to excite considerable merriment—the question of the Canadian portion of the Imperial navy being under the control of the representatives of Canada. I ask why not? Why not? If the principle of responsible government is to be maintained, then what the Canadian Government buys with the Canadian people's money the representatives of the Canadian people surely ought to control. Two misconceptions cited, or rather concocted, seem to give point to the suggestion of my hon. friend. It is asked: If a Canadian warship were to meet an enemy on the sea—there would not be an enemy if there were no war—

Mr. HUGHES : It would not meet on land.

Mr. GRAHAM : It might, if it were a schooner of a certain kind. But my hon. friend shall not drive me from this point. He believes in constitutional government, in responsible government. There is no greater enemy of the old lack of principle that prevailed in Canada under the family compact than my hon. friend, and anything that smacks of family compact, I know will have his disapproval. Let me point out that the conditions of which my hon. friend (Mr. Hazen) spoke could not very well exist. If there were an enemy of Great Britain on the high seas approaching the Canadian coast it would be because war had been declared. And surely there is no man in this House but would say—certainly, I hope, the gentleman who is at the head of the naval forces of Canada, which, I hope will yet include a great Canadian navy, will never admit—that, war imminent, the country throbbing at the prospect he would not have his warships under control, mobolized, ready to act upon his orders in fifteen minutes. It is not true that Parliament is to be called in order to allow these warships to go to the aid of the motherland; that is left to the Governor in Council. Are hon. gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury benches afraid to trust their own loyalty ? Is it not a rather small thing to try by such suggestions as those of my hon. friend to create enthusiasm in contempt of such an audience as this ? Thinking men will not be deceived by such declamation devoid of argument. The principle of responsible government means that such a navy should be under the control of the people who own it, just as the British navy is under the British Admiralty and the representatives of the British people who own it. The law provides that the Canadian navy can be placed at the disposal of the British Admiralty by Order in Council, and that if Parliament is not then in session it shall be called to meet in ten days. Why?—hon. gentlemen opposite ask why? Responsible government again. Get away from the family compact idea. Under responsible government, Parliament must meet to vote the money for the fleet that is to join the Imperial forces. Surely, this Government would never send its navy—except the three ships that it is proposed to send, unmanned—without the ships being fully equipped or without money to pay their expenses. So Parliament, if not in session, must be called to vote the money. And I misjudge the representatives of the Canadian people who are here or who are to come here, if they would not be prepared at any time to vote every dollar necessary to protect the shores of Canada or to aid the Empire in any part or at any point should danger threaten.

Now, Sir, I come to recent history. I have already quoted some history, but it is, as my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries would say, ancient. The part which he quoted about Sir John would not be classified as being ancient or modern, but rather as sacred or profane. But I wish to come to more modern history. I know that my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Foster) will not object if I again put on 'Hansard' what he said in 1909. It was a good speech, and at that time my hon. friend meant it. I want to say in all sincerity that to my mind it was without exception one of the most eloquent addresses ever heard in a deliberative body. For years I had been considering, as a journalist, the duty of the press and the people of Canada on this question of aiding in the naval defence of the Empire. A portion of the press contended that we were niggardly; we were not performing our duty; we were not proceeding with sufficient expedition. I for years had taken the ground that, up to a certain period, at least, the greatest benefit we

could confer upon the British Empire was the development of our own resources. Our resources were then not as large or our revenue, as buoyant as at the present time, but as a writer, I had taken that view in a modest way. But it was a question that was rapidly coming to the front, and when as a young member of this House I listened to the speech of my hon. friend, backed up by his leader, now the Prime Minister, I was absolutely convinced not only that Canada should do something, but the proper way to do that something was to take her share in imperial defence by building a navy of her own, to act on her own shores in times of peace and to form part of the forces of the motherland in times of stress or danger. My hon. friend made the matter so clear and expressed it in such eloquent terms that no one who listened to him could gainsay the logic of his speech, except, perhaps, in one or two points which I considered of minor importance. My hon. friend will, I trust, allow me to quote his words. I want them to be imbedded in the centre of my remarks this evening on this great question of Imperial naval defence. If hon. gentlemen opposite do not weigh such of my remarks as they may read, I want them to be in a position to read the remarks made three years ago by the member for North Toronto, now Minister of Trade and Commerce. They are as follows :

> The first and greatest objection which I have to a fixed money contribution is that it bears the aspect of hiring somebody else to do what we ourselves ought to do; as though a man, the father of a family, in lusty health and strength, should pay his neighbor something per month for looking after the welfare and safety of his home instead of doing that duty himself. That seems to me, when you work it out, to be a basic objection to this form of aid.
>
> It goes still further than that. Suppose you contribute this year your sum, and next year your equal sum, and thereafter year after year. After ten or twelve, or twenty, or thirty years, you will have paid out an immense amount of money. You will have been protected in the meantime; but in Canada itself there will be no roots struck; there will be no residue left, there will be no preparation of the soil, or beginning of the growth of the product of defence. Yet some time or other, no one can doubt that with resources and with a population constantly increasing we must and will have in this country a naval force of our own for our coast and home defence.
>
> The interest that we take in a contribution spent by another is not the interest that I desire for Canada. I want to see something grafted on the soil of Canada's nationhood, which takes root and grows and develops until it incites the spirit of defence in this country, leads to a participation in the defence, leads to that quick interest in it, its glories, its duties and its accomplished work, which is after all the one great thing that compensates a people for great expenditures either on land or on sea in the way of defence and of the maintenance of the rights of this country.
>
> Again, it disjoins what has been joined together from the earliest days of the world's existence—commerce and the pro-

tection of commerce. After all, the basic idea of a naval force is the protection of the commerce of a country. A commerce side by side with its protector, and its protector side by side with the growing commerce of a country, flourish best together, and are the surest helpers to each other. That is the idea which is in my mind—that when we make our contributions in the way of a fixed sum and it goes from us, and we are not responsible for it, we have none of the inspiration arising from the growth and development of a system of future defence in our own country. We are deprived of the larger benefit ourselves, and in the future we do no greater service to the Empire of which we form a part in this matter of defence.

Then, again, I think this method ignores the necessities and the aspirations and the prospects of a great people such as the Canadian people are destined to become. We must have beginnings; these must at first be small; but some time, or other, as I have said, our country will have its naval force for the defence of this country if for nothing else. The point with me is as to whether it is not the greater wisdom to sow the seed at once and cultivate its growth, as best we may, in our circumstances and with our resources, until at last we arrive at that stage of expansion, which we have reached in other great lines of our country's progress. You will notice that while I have tried to discuss the pros and cons in connection with this method, while I have stated reasons in favour of and others against it, my own mind tends rather towards the employment of another form than that of an out and out money contribution.

The then hon. member for North Toronto, now the Minister of Trade and Commerce, uttered those great truths three years ago in more eloquent terms than I could possibly express them; and if I had nothing else to say on the subject, he has made the case unanswerable even against the arguments adduced this evening by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the head of the naval forces in Canada.

The right hon. Prime Minister also made a speech bearing on this question, in which he impressed upon the House the very same views as were entertained by the hon. member for North Toronto. Above all things I am impartial, and perhaps the House will pardon me if I also read his remarks: My hon. friend (Mr. Hazen) did not read from his extracts the words which the present Prime Minister uttered on a certain occasion about the Canadian navy. This is what the present Prime Minister said :

In so far as my right hon. friend the Prime Minister to-day outlined the lines of naval defence of this country, I am entirely at one with him. I am entirely of opinion, in the first place, that the proper line upon which we should proceed in that regard is the line of having a Canadian naval force of our own. I entirely believe in that.

He said : "I entirely believe in that"; no reservation, and I am

afraid that a certain movement had not then taken root, as my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce would say :

Mr. GRAHAM (Still reading from Mr. Borden's speech) :

The other experiment has been tried as between Australia and the mother country and it has not worked satisfactorily in any respect. In Great Britain the contribution has perhaps been regarded as rather unsatisfactory. In Australia it failed, in the end, to meet with the approval of the people for the reason that Great Britain felt constrained to ask Australia that the field of operations of the squadron should be extended to the China and Indian seas; and when the operation of that squadron was so extended, the Australia felt that the contribution which they had been making for some years past was not really being used to give that protection to Australia which her interests demanded.

Mr. LEMIEUX : Put in the word 'Canada.'

Mr. GRAHAM (Still reading from Mr. Borden's speech) :

So that, the policy of Australia at the present time is to build up a flotilla of submarines and torpedo boats which, in case of war, would co-operate with the armed cruisers and battleships of the British navy. It was pointed out in discussing this question that Australia in providing a force of that kind would provide a force which it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for Great Britain to send across the seas, and that in thus protecting themselves they were providing the best possible force for the protection of the Empire. So, I am at one with the Prime Minister as far as this is concerned. I am at one with him in this respect also that I think that an expenditure of money designed for that purpose ought, in the main at least, to be under the control of our own Parliament, and that by making an appropriation of that kind, and attending to the defence of our own coasts, by co-operation and co-ordination with the Imperial navy forces, we would be rendering a real service in the defence of the Empire and we would be doing our duty, not only to Canada, but to the Empire as a whole.

An hon. MEMBER : A good speech.

Mr. GRAHAM : Yes, let me compliment my right hon. friend (Mr. Borden) on the fact.

Mr. EMMERSON : Did he say it should be under the control of Parliament ?

Mr. GRAHAM : He said that all the money expended should be, in the main, under the control of Parliament. These were the words uttered by the present Prime Minister on that occasion.

Now, I want to come down to the conference of 1909, and in doing

so I desire to call attention to a fact, which was emphasized very strongly by the Prime Minister in the speech from which I have just quoted, that is, the change that Australia decided to make from her former policy. Her former policy was one of contribution which this Government is now taking up where Australia let it drop. Australia has advanced, and has taken up the policy which we advocated, and still advocate. Hon. gentlemen opposite are behind in the march of events. Their policy is unmanned as well as their boats. At that conference in 1909, Australia practically said to the British Government we have been trying long enough this experiment of contribution, and, as my right hon. friend pointed out, it has not worked out. Australia said we are going to take the more imperial course, the better Australian course, the common-sense course of building a navy to protect our own shores, our fisheries, our commerce in times of peace, a navy which shall be of some assistance to the Empire in time of war. Now Australia is building a navy of her own.

An hon. MEMBER: Where is her dreadnaught now?

Mr. GRAHAM: There is one dreadnaught, and it will be on the Australian coast when the unit is completed. The unit is under construction; it has not been indefinitely postponed.

Mr. AMES: Where will it be stationed until the unit is completed?

Mr. GRAHAM: Wherever the Governor General of Australia, under their Act, agrees it shall be.

Mr. EMMERSON: By whom will it be manned?

Mr. GRAHAM: That is a touchy question. I want to compare what is under order now for the Australian Government with what is proposed by the Canadian Government. Australia has begun a big programme that will not be completed for some years, but at the present time, working along the lines laid down by my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition this afternoon, and having tried the old-fashioned method proposed now by this Government as an expedient and found it did not provide the remedy they are providing a fleet unit of their own:

> The Government of the commonwealth has adopted the general lines of Admiral Henderson's report, but at present only one fleet unit is under construction. This consists of a dreadnaught cruiser, three unarmoured cruisers of the Bristol class—the same sort which Canada under the Laurier programme proposed to build four vessels—six destroyers, and three submarines, or thirteen vessels in all. These vessels are either in commission or approaching completion. A naval college is also to be established for the training of officers. For the present Australia's dreadnaught cruiser will remain in British waters, but it is maintained by the Australian tax-payer.

Mr. AMES: By whom will it be manned?

Mr. GRAHAM : Eventually I believe, by Australians.

Mr. AMES : By whom will it be manned while in British waters ?

Mr. GRAHAM: My hon. friend is trying hard to get away.

Mr. AMES : My hon. friend might answer that question. By whom will it be manned while in British waters ?

Mr. GRAHAM : I suppose by the best available men hired by the Australian Government and paid by them. They may be British marines, of course.

Mr. AMES : Will they be Australians ?

Mr. GRAHAM : A good many of them may be, and possibly they may have the same magnificent privilege that is provided in this Act, of allowing some Australian officers to go on board. That is a privilege of course extended to any qualified officer of the British navy.

Mr. BORDEN : There is not a line in the Act regarding that.

Mr. GRAHAM : But there was in my right hon. friend's speech.

Mr. BORDEN : My hon. friend said the Act.

Mr. GRAHAM : My right hon. friend's speech cannot be dissociated from this Act if it can be from some others. I read the memorandum, and I read my right hon. friend's speech very carefully. If I said it was in the Act it is an error; it was in my right hon. friend's speech, which, to my mind, is fully as important as the Act itself. Now, Sir, let me go a little farther. I want to point out something that occurred at this conference in 1909 about which we have heard so much. Perhaps the House will bear with me if I read from this Admiralty memorandum, page 23 :

Imperial Conference

With Replies of Self-governing Dominions on the Naval and

Military Defence of the Empire, 1909.

I shall not read it all, as it is quite lengthy, but let me put on 'Hansard' a fewstatements made in this memorandum, and one of these statements will be as to what constitutes a fleet unit so that the people of Canada and the Empire will know what our policy is in the matter of Imperial naval defence. Section 2 of this memorandum, page 23, says :

If the problem of Imperial naval military defence were considered merely as a problem of naval strategy it would be found that the greatest output of strength for a given expenditure is ob-

tained by the maintenance of a single navy with the concomitant unity of training and unity of command. In furtherance then of the simple strategical ideal the maximum of power would be gained if all parts of the Empire contributed, according to their needs and resources, to the maintenance of the British navy.

Listen to section 3 :

3. It has, however, long been recognized that in defining the conditions under which the naval forces of the Empire should be developed, other considerations than those of strategy alone must be taken into account. The various circumstances of the overseas dominions have to be borne in mind. Though all have in them the seeds of a great advance in population, wealth, and power, they have at the present time attained to different stages in their growth. Their geographical position has subjected them to internal and external strains, varying in kind and intensity. Their history and physical environment have given rise to individual national sentiment, for the expression of which room must be found. A simple contribution of money or material may be to one Dominion the most acceptable form in which to assist in Imperial defence. Another while ready to provide local naval forces, and to place them at the disposal of the Crown in the event of war, may wish to lay the foundations upon which a future navy of its own could be raised. A third may think that the best manner in which it can assist in promoting the interests of the Empire is in undertaking certain local services not directly of a naval character, but which may relieve the Imperial Government from expenses which would otherwise fall on the British Exchequer.

That clause I wish to call the particular attention of the House to as it recognizes the aspirations of any dominion over the sea to lay the foundation of a navy of its own to grow and develop into a strong arm of the great Imperial navy. Now I want to come down to the vital point which I have in my mind; that is the constitution of a fleet unit. After discussing the question of the fleet unit in several paragraphs, section 7 says :

The fleet unit to be aimed at should therefore, in the opinion of the admiralty, consist at least of the following :

1 Armoured cruiser (new 'Indomitable' class, which is of the 'Dreadnought' type).

3 Unarmoured cruisers ('Bristol class'.)

6 Destroyers.

3 Submarines.

with the necessary auxiliaries, such as depot and store ships, etc., which are not here specified.

Such a fleet unit would be capable of action not only in the defence of coasts, but also of the trade routes, and would be sufficinetly powerful to deal with small hostile squadrons should they ever attempt to act in its waters.

Twice that is the policy of the opposition in this House. My hon. friend's friends rather thought he scored a point this afternoon when he asked my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition: Why did you not, some years ago, when you had the power, provide for two additional fleet units? Why? Why was not the militia withdrawn from Canada in 1850 or 1860, instead of 1870? Why did it not go? The time had not arrived. Canada to-day has nearly double the revenue she had four years ago. The British Admiralty in 1909 was in favour of a fleet unit on the Pacific coast. I want the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to listen to the position taken on that occasion by the representatives of himself and other citizens of Canada who reside on the Atlantic coast. The Government, or its representative, said then: We have a Pacific coast; we have an Atlantic coast; we cannot at the present moment provide a fleet unit for each and we cannot put a unit on one coast only because the other coast must be protected as well. So the Government proposed a plan by which, with future development, we would have one fleet unit on the Pacific and one fleet unit on the Atlantic coast. But, in the meatnime, they provided for the construction in Canada of a certain number of ships that could form component parts of each of these fleet units when the time arrived for the fleet untis to be fully constructed. Our policy to-day is a carrying out of the policy which the late Government had in mind when they introduced their naval law in 1910. Canada's resources will now permit of it, and, if we are to believe what my hon. friend says about urgency, he surely will not object to an increased naval programme, even if it is in Canada. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries stated that the memo of the British Admiralty said that the way this Bill proposed was the right way. What did he say? Let me read the memo. I might premise this by saying that the British Admiralty did not discuss a Canadian navy. The promise had been made by this Government that the naval law of Canada would be repeled.

Mr. LEMIEUX: To please the Nationalists.

Mr. GRAHAM: I will come to that—and a request was made by the Prime Minister under conditions which could not admit of anything but a contribution. Now, the British Admiralty was in this position: You are going to give us something, you are bound to give us something, it is not to be a Canadian navy, it is not the policy outlined in the McKenna memo of 1909, you have forsaken that, we have read your speeches, you have promised the Nationalists that you are going to repeal that law, now you are going to give us something and you ask us what we will have.

The Prime Minister of the Dominion having inquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances that it is desirable such aid should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply.

There is nothing in that which says three dreadnoughts—a certain number—and in the policy propounded on this side of the House we propose to follow that line, and we are going to give two of the highest class of battleships, but attached to that, and in addition to it, we propose to give the balance of two fleet units.

Again, our policy is double what was asked in 1909, and it is nearly double in efficiency what this Government proposes, and it would cost for construction practically the same amount of money as that proposed now in this contribution. It would be out of place for me to comment on the contents of the document placed on the table of the House to-day by the Prime Minister, but I may say that it is not as strong as it might be; it is not as definite, at all events, as the promise of repeal of the naval law given by the Prime Minister. I may say, however, that I have the utmost confidence in the intent of the British Admiralty to carry out any pledge they make. Let us for a moment analyze that memorandum. The Minister of Marine and the Prime Minister told us that it will take so many years to establish ship-building in Canada that we cannot wait. In fact the policy of the late Government was condemned by the Minister of Marine because it would take too long to build even these small ships in Canada—he is going to get them quicker by postponing indefinitely. Look at the fallacy of the position taken by the Minister of Marine. Mark you, the ships that were to be built in Canada were to be built by one of the great ship-building firms of England. The Minister of Marine tells us they could not be constructed with sufficient rapidity under the late Government and on that account I suppose he cancelled the contract. But, what does he hold out as a solace in his eloquent speech to the people of the Maritime provinces ? It is, that these great British ship-builders, although they one year ago could not establish yards in Canada and build these ships here according to the Minister of Marine, can, when the British Government tells them to, do it in a year or two and then we will reap the benefit. But, the same men were going to build the ships in Canada under Laurier as are going to build the ships in Canada under Churchill.

An hon. MEMBER : Under the British Admiralty. What a bundle of contradictions ?

Mr. GRAHAM : Under the British Admiralty is accurate. Let me point out another fallacy equally untenable from the Canadian standpoint—this Government promises to pay the difference in cost of building small ships in Canada as compared with the cost in Great Britain, and which, according to the Minister of Marine, is a large amount. And then what ? Canada after paying all the cost will not own one ship of the fleet ,but they will belong to the British Admiralty. Sir, if the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been carried out, the British ship-builders would be in Canada now building these ships to be paid for by Canada, and when paid for to be the property of the Canadian people who paid for them.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have always opposed the view that we should take a plebiscite on this question, and the hon. member for North Toronto the Minister of Trade and Commerce, has also opposed it consistently.

Mr. LEMIEUX : I do not think he voted.

Mr. GRAHAM : I will come to that. He opposed it consistently, and he was right; he had the courage of his convictions.

Mr. LEMIEUX : He did not vote.

Mr. GRAHAM : I do not think you are right in that.

Mr. FOSTER : Be sure of your facts.

Mr. GRAHAM : I thought I was sure of my facts, but I was not sure of my man. As I have said, I am opposed to a plebiscite. I do not believe in it. I believe that Parliament had the right to proceed as it did with the introduction of a policy such as was introduced by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. But, there is some excuse for these gentlemen in the province of Quebec in demanding a plebiscite. Let us see by whom a plebiscite was promised to them. On February 3, 1910, nearly a year after the unanimous resolution, a motion was moved in this House and there was an amendment to it and an amendment to the amendment moved by Mr. Monk, who I regret is indisposed, and this is the amendment Mr. Monk moved :

> This House, while declaring its unalterable devotion to the British Crown, is of the opinion that the Bill now submitted for its consideration changes the relations of Canada with the Empire, and ought, in consequence, be submitted to the Canadian people in order to obtain at once the opinion of the nation by means of a plebiscite.

Now let me read out the names of those who voted for that amendment. Surely, if the building of a Canadian navy was a departure from the constitutional relations, as outlined in the amendment, existing between the motherland and the overseas dominions, this proposition for a contribution now before us is ten-fold a greater departure. The hon. gentlemen who voted that a plebiscite must be taken were—the Government may be represented in this list, I have not scanned it carefully, but I will read it: Blondin, Broder, Chisholm (Huron), Currie (Simcoe), Doherty, Forget, Hern, Jameson, Lewis, Lortie, Monk, Nantel, Paquet, Sharpe (Ontario), Verville, White (Renfrew), Wilcox, Worthington. Now, I am going to read this amendment again, because if these hon. gentlemen are consistent, they cannot vote for this contribution unless they ask the people first, not through a general election, but through a plebiscite.

Mr. CURRIE (North Simcoe) : You forget there has been a general election since then.

Mr. GRAHAM : No, I am not in a position to forget that, and there was also a by-election which my hon. friend will not forget. It does not alter the situation one iota, because my hon. friend never got one vote in North Simcoe on this navy question, I venture to say. Let me read this amendment again, because my hon. friend smarts under it, and anything he smarts under is sure to be pretty nearly right.

This House, while declaring its unalterable devotion to the British Crown, is of opinion that the Bill now submitted for its consideration changes the relations of Canada with the Empire and ought in consequence to be submitted to the Canadian people in order to obtain at once the nation's opinion by means of a plebiscite.

'Changes the relations of Canada with the Empire,' to pass an Act to spend money in our own country. It changes them ten-fold to go back seventy years in the history of Canada, and give a contribution. I might say that personally this is what I should like, although it would not really meet the view expressed in favour of a plebiscite : I should like hon. gentlemen, who form the Government to bring in their Redistribution Bill, let us put it through, and then let us go to the country. That will let them out of a serious difficulty; but let us have the Redistribution Bill first, and, if it is fair at all, we will assist in putting it through. Then let us go to the country, and let the people decide as to what its naval policy is to be.

I want to point out that the men who entertained the view expressed in the above amendment had a good precedent in that some of their leaders entertained the same view. You must not be too harsh now on the fruit of the vine which you yourselves planted. There was a Monk amendment also. I think my hon. friend from North Toronto was absent when the yeas and nays were counted; and the word 'speedy' put into that resolution at the request of my hon. friend, now the Prime Minister, was slow in comparison to the gait struck by my hon. friend in leaving the House. This is the Monk amendment :

The House regrets that the Speech from the Throne gives no indication whatever of the intention of the Government to consult the people on its naval policy and the general question of the contribution by Canada to Imperial armaments.

Just what this is let me see. I suppose that a few of the despised Nationalists voted for this amendment, and hon. front-benchers did not ? My hon. friend from North Toronto did not, and I think very few of the Toronto contingent did, but I have scanned 'Hansard' to find out really the main spokes that revolved around this hub of a resolution. The amendment was negatived. I almost hesitate to read this. I am afraid that the new members will hardly think this is from 'Hansard,' but at page 133, November 22, 1910, of 'Hansard' 1910-11, you will find this record. It ought to be said that the present Minister of Militia (Col. Hughes) voted against his leader on that occasion.

Now, who voted for that amendment ? Borden ?

Mr. LEMIEUX : Which Borden ?

Mr. GRAHAM : Not Sir Frederick, but R. L. Borden; Monk, Blondin, Burrell, Crothers, Doherty, Nantel, Perley, Reid and Roche.

Mr. LEMIEUX : Shocking.

Mr. GRAHAM: I think that my hon. friend the Prime Minister just selected the men who gave this vote, and was bound to have nobody in the Government except those who voted yea on that amendment. I might add that the present Speaker voted for it also. Now let me ask if you cannot have a permanent policy, as you say you cannot, without going to the people, how are you going to annul your vote on going to the country on a question of contribution to Imperial armaments? That is what you are doing—giving a contribution without going to the country, although in November, 1910, practically every member of this Government that was a member of this House then said that on principle he would not contribute to armaments for the British Empire without first consulting the people of Canada.

Mr. COCHRANE: And we have consulted them.

Mr. GRAHAM: And in this Bill you have insulted their fighting spirit, but my hon. friend knows better than that the people in the last election, in Ontario particularly, were consulted on the Navy Question. As regards this policy, it is not a policy. I thought perhaps I would be questioned when I said that, but my hon. friend the Minister of Marine said himself to-night that he would not call it a policy, and I accept his good judgment in that regard. It is an expediency; it is a subterfuge to get away from a difficulty, not international but interpolitical in one party. It is not international, it is inter-Nationalist.

There has been some question as to what these battleships should be called. Several historic names have been proposed. Will the House pardon me if I propose names that, I think, will be suggestive of this policy? Would the hon. ministers think about it for a moment—those who are left? I would suggest, in view of the facts, that they abandoned a policy adopted by themselves and unanimously approved by this House in 1909, and dragged this great Imperial question into politics—that they were responsible for certain statements, far from edifying, made in another province concerning this navy—that they were responsible for changing the whole attitude of the Government—that these ships should be called respectively, the Monk, the Nantel and the Pelletier. It is no wonder that these ships are to be unmanned. So far as the greatest of these three names is concerned, the Government is unmanned already. For the man who bears that name adhered to the policy laid down by himself, and when it came to a point where he was called upon to sacrifice his principle, he declined. He stands in the same position and no other, that every man stood in who voted for the amendment concerning going to the people before contributing anything to British armaments. He may be made the scapegoat, but he is not worthy of the distinction. Other gentlemen ought to bear the burden; they bear the salary. Do not condemn too strongly the men who adhered to their views; if condemnation is to be meted out, mete it out to those who have forsaken their views.

Sir, this question is one of great moment to this country. I believe in the policy outlined by the leader of the Opposition, which is a development of the policy of 1909 endorsed unanimously by this Parliament, as one that stands most firmly not only for Canadian dignity, but for Imperial unity as well. Let me summarize: I am opposed to the resolution on many grounds, including the following:

1. It constitutes us a nation of substituters, willing to allow others to take our places in the firing line in the defence of the Empire.

2. It ignores the true test of devotion—the sacrifice of ourselves, if necessary, as well as our money, in the defence of the common cause.

3. It reverses the policy of the past seventy years and is a retrograde step in the constitutional relations existing between the motherland and Canada.

4. At the best, it is but an expedient, humiliating to both the Empire and Canada, and makes no provision for a policy of permanent benefit to both.

5. It is in no wise a solution of the problem of naval defence, but merely a temporary make-shift without lasting result to the motherland or the Dominion of Canada.

I am in favour of the policy outlined in the amendment :

1. Because it is a real and permanent policy commensurate at once with the needs of the Empire and the dignity of the Canadian people.

2. It will establish and develop a large ship-building industry in Canada, giving employment to many of our people.

3. It will tend to strengthen the tie that binds us to the motherland, and will intensify, if that were possible, the strong feeling of loyalty and patriotism which now exists in Canada, and will afford full opportunity to the rising generation to show their devotion to King and country by being prepared, should duty call, to fight on sea as well as on land.